14 October 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BLOCK
CAPT FORHIMAN HOUSE
COL FIERCE 7-5

1. Inclosed herewith is a draft meso for the Under Secretary of the Army which I propose to substit to him within a couple of days. I would appreciate any suggestions by telephone as to the proposed statement by the Army Number.

2. Also inclosed is draft of the paper I have spoken to you about. I suggest that as early as we are prepared to discuss this, a meeting be called to put it in final form.

C. E. C.

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### 1. THE PROBLEM

Should the United States utilize coordinated psychological measures in furtherance of the attainment of its national objectives? If so, what organization should be employed and what should be its terms of reference?

### 2. DEFINITION

Psychological measures are defined as those planned measures, exclusive of armed conflict, designed to influence the thought, morale, and behavior of peoples or nations in such a way as to further the attainment of national objectives.

### 3. FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

- a. Major conflicts exist between the United States and certain powers, particularly the USSR.
- b. The USSR is committed to the defeat of United States world aims and the destruction of the American form of government.
- c. The USSR is employing coordinated psychological, political and economic measures against the U. S. and may use force.
- d. The U.S., on the other hand, is not employing <u>coordinated</u> psychological measures; and the resulting diminished effectiveness of U.S. political and economic measures may ultimately require resort to force.
- e. History shows that psychological measures can be successfully used in achieving national objectives.
- f. There exists no agency of the Federal Government charged with the coordination and direction of world-wide psychological efforts to achieve U.S. objectives.

### 4. DISCUSSION

See Appendix "A"

### 5. CONCLUSIONS

- a. The United States must employ coordinated psychological measures if the achievement of United States aims is to be insured.
  - b. Failure to employ these measures now may result in a recourse

- c. If the United States is forced to resort to armed conflict and has not previously been employing coordinated psychological measures, it may suffer defeat.
- d. A National Policy Agency, charged with implementing United States policy on a world-wide scale through coordinated psychological measures should be established.
- a. Based upon approved national policy, the mission of this agency should be:
  - (1) The fermulation and execution, directly or through other government agencies, of programs psychologically designed to facilitate world-wide achievement of U. S. national objectives.
  - (2) The coordination of informational and related psychological activities effecting the achievement of these objectives.
- f. As an immediate measure the agency should be established within the President's executive office by Executive Order.
- g. Legislative authorization and funds for its establishment as an independent executive agency should be sought at the next regular session of Congress.

# 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

- a. That the above conclusions be approved by the National Security Council.
  - b. That the President issue the Executive Order, Appendix  $^{n}B^{n}$ .

### APPENDIX A

### DISCUSSION

The United States is today engaged in a major conflict with the USSR. The USSR is employing all means at her command, short of war, to achieve her national objectives which, in most cases, are diametrically opposed to those of the United States.

With a world situation unique in modern times, world power being divided largely between two powers, the USSR and the United States, this conflict is reaching an intensity unprecedented since the last few months before the outbreak of World War II.

In employing the political, economic, and psychological weapons at her command the USSR is laying principal emphasis on the psychological aspects of the conflict. She has in fact virtually declared psychological war on the United States in the recent Manifesto at Warsaw where the Comintern was "re-established". Her objective is to so influence the minds of men as to achieve world domination without warfare. She will only resort to warfare if the psychological effort fails.

Among her many objectives are blocking a peace with Germany, Austria, Korea and Japan, reducing the United Nations to impotency while preserving it as a psychological loud-speaker, stimulating the civil wars in Greece, China, Indo-China, and Indonesia, instigating civil strife in Morth Africa and the Middle East and promoting strikes, ricting and revolution in Italy and France. The general aim of these specific objectives is to cause a state of international anarchy which will result in further conquests for Russian-controlled Communism. Her negative program includes blocking the United States' attempt to stabilize Europe through the Marshall Plan.

A specific example of the successful employment of USSR psychological methods is to be found in Greece today. Whereas the United States is giving large funds, substantial quantities of food, munitions and

industrial supplies, the USSR is depending almost entirely on her psychological arm. The effect of Russian words has to date almost completely counterbalanced the effect of the very real aid which the United States has provided to the Greek people.

Another example is the extensive help to France which has been given by the United States but which is largely unknown to the French people. The USSR has through the use of psychological weapons made more capital out of the one ship-load of grain she sent to France (while we were shipping grain to Russia) than has the United States from many millions of dollars worth of assistance.

Today Italy, Austria, Greece, and France hang in the balance and the immediate actions and words of the USSR and the United States will determine into which camp these countries will fall.

With uncoordinated international political and economic measures the United States finds herself not reaping the full benefit from its very extensive contributions to world stability. The failure to reap these benefits can be attributed to a large degree to the failure to employ coordinated psychological measures. Meanwhile the heavy drain on our national resources is having a negative effect on United States public opinion.

As the United States loses prestige and influence in Europe and in the Far East, our position as the leading world power at the end of World War II rapidly deteriorates. Meanwhile, the USSR, employing the very tools of psychological conflict which our idle hands should be employing against her, is breeding discontent and disunity within the American body-politic itself.

The employment of psychological measures is a way of achieving American objectives without recourse to war. If we fail to stop the USSR by pacific means we must then resort to armed conflict or give way to Russian dominance. It may be estegorically stated that our strategic position is not such that we can safely and surely depend

on fighting a war a few years hence instead of applying our maximum peacetime effort now. The very fact that America in the eyes of the rest of the world is coasting into an atomic war is losing us our friends and possible future Allies.

A general discussion of international psychological efforts during the 20th Century is attached as Annex A.

If it is granted that psychological measures are necessary the question immediately raises itself as to whether an agency should be established to have an all-inclusive control of psychological efforts or whether efforts can be limited to some phase of the activity. It is apparent at once that words can not be restricted in space, therefore, psychological efforts will, whether so desired or not, have effect not only abroad but in United States itself. Although operations of a psychological agency may meet a natural resistence within the United States, the nature of the problem requires that the effort be made. It will be impossible to say one thing in a recruitment program in America and another thing in a press release in France.

At the present time the uncoordinated efforts of various Federal agencies tend to agnoel out their effectiveness, as for example the Secretary of Agriculture's apparent denial of the moderative of the President's food conservation program. Therefore in order to achieve its maximum effectiveness psychological moves must be coordinated and directed by a central agency. Such an agency should be charged with the achieving of United States policy objectives throughout the world through all psychological means. It must formulate and carry out directly or through other government agencies programs designed to achieve intelligent and sympathetic understanding throughout the world, of the policies, activities and aims of the United States. This agency must coordinate the information and activities of all Federal Departments and agencies to insure the consistent flow of information to the world.

If an agency of the nature outlined above is required, the next problem is the determination of the level at which it should operate;

State Department, National Security Council, or the President's Executive Office.

The State Department has primary interest in international relations during peace. It, however, is not in a position to distate to other departments and agencies of the government, the psychological actions required from them. The Bureau of Internal Revenue would not look kindly on State Department directives concerning its releases to the public. It would, therefore, appear that a higher-level agency is required.

The National Security Council provides a higher level agency, but it in turn is associated primarily with the Armed Forces and the State Department and is subject to the same difficulties in ecordinating other departments such as Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture. Furthermore, its exact functional structure is yet to be determined.

It would, therefore, appear that the President's Executive Office provides the one satisfactory place for the immediate establishment of a Mational Policy Agency. At this level the agency can, as spokesman for the President, coordinate with all Federal Departments and Agencies without becoming involved in inter-departmental conflicts or jealousies.

If it is granted that an agency outlined above should be established in the President's Executive Office, three procedures for its establishment can be considered:

- a. Legislation and appropriation of funds after recommendation: submitted by a civilian advisory sommittee to be appointed by the President.
- b. Legislation and appropriation of funds without consulting a civilian advisory body.
- o. Executive Order establishing an agency on an interim basis pending legislation authorizing the agency and the appropriated funds.

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It is widely believed that the next two years will be critical in our conflict with the USSE. Therefore, any action to be taken towards implementing policy with psychological measures should be taken at once. The first proposal, involving an advisory body, authorizing legislation and appropriation of funds, would require an estimated year and a half and might be too late. The second proposal, although skipping the advisory body, would probably require from 10 months to a year as the minimum time to secure activation of the National Policy Agency. The only alternative then remains immediate action by Executive Offder. A draft of such an order is attached as Appendix B.

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# ANNEX HAN to APPENDIX HAN

## PSYCHOLOGICAL ACTION IN CONFLICT BETWEEN PROPLES

Conflict between nations or pacples has for its objective control over the actions of men. Actions of men can be controlled either through their wills, that is through their minds, or by force, physical control of their bodies. Armed conflict is the result of the failure to gain control of the minds of men. It is the application of physical force, following the failure of psychological efforts.

International objectives can be, and have been, achieved through organized psychological effort without recourse to war. When recourse to organized physical conflict is required a previous organized psychological effort can, and has in the past, contributed largely to success in the physical conflict.

Four examples of the application of coordinated and highly-integrated psychological effort will be considered. Although these four are chosen from the history of the 20th Century, it is apparent that many additional examples can be cited from the past. It is believed, however, that the examples of Zienism, the Catholic Church, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia will be adequate to support the thesis.

Zionism is a movement among modern Jews for the colonisation of their race in Palestine, ancient Zion, for nationalistic and religious purposes. It is the result of extensive outbreaks of anti-semitism in Europe during the nineteenth century and has received added impetus from the 20th century Jewish persecution. Theadore Hersl is credited with initiating the Zionist movement through the publication in 1896 of "Der Judenstadt" which had an immediate and striking influence in Europe. In 1897 the first Zionist Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, and since that time Zionism has continued to spread and grow throughout the world. At the present time it is estimated that there are a little over 500,000 Jews in Palestine led by the Jewish agency established after World War I.

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There are slightly over one million arabs living in the 10,000-squaremile Mandate. They are violently opposed to the Jewish effort to take over this country as a Jewish national state and homeland.

Zionism throughout its 50 years of existence has lacked the political power that a physical state could have provided. It has lacked the economic power which a state could have utilized in exerting international monetary pressures. It has lacked the physical power of armed force capable of imposing its will. For all practical purposes the Zionist movement has had only one major agency for achieving its objective, psychological action.

Through skillful employment of the psychological weapons, primarily propagands, the Zionist organization has succeeded in becoming a major force in the world. Its principal strength is in the United States where its paying membership is estimated, however, at only 100,000 of the 5,000,000 Jews in the country. Although it has had to combat the Arab League of seven countries of 32,500,000 population it has reached a position of equal world force. As to which is the stronger, Zionism or the Arab League, still has to be determined.

It is interesting to note that Zionism has not directed its psychological weapons against its real enemies the Arabs. Instead it has operated on non-Arabic powers primarily the United States and Great Britain to gain support for Zionism. This effort has been so successful that both countries have taken international political and economic action that has been clearly to their national detriment in order to assist Zionism. The Arab League has been affronted by both powers when its support was sorely needed.

The methods used by the Zionist movement include propaganda through the Jewish religious organization to gain the support of all Jews and propaganda through the Jewish-owned or Jewish-controlled press to gain the support of the non-Jewish members of the community. The propaganda effort has amassed considerable financial support which in turn has been used to increase the propaganda effort among non-Jewish organizations; to purchase space in otherwise unsympathetic newspapers and magazines; to purchase time on national radio chains and to increase the production of sympathetic motion picture films. Coordinated with this propaganda effort is direct action on members of legislative bodies through personal contact.

The arguments used to gain support from non-Jewish members of the community have had little basis either in history or in reason, but their continued repetition has succeeded in producing a strong world pressure-group for Zionism. The historical and moral claim to Falestine by the Jews is, in fact, no more logical than an Irish (Centic) claim to England, a Greek claim to Italy or a French claim to Germany. Actually there is far more moral and historical "right" in an Indian claim to the United States than there is for the return of Palestine to the Jews.

Despite the unreasonable nature of the demand great success has been achieved in "selling" the idea throughout Western Europe and North America. It is interesting to speculate as to what the present situation would be had the Arabs put forth an equal psychological effort against the Jewish concept.

The second example mentioned above to illustrate the effectiveness of psychological weapons is the Catholic Church. Like Zionism, the Catholic Church, being stateless, does not have the normal political, economic or military forces for achieving its ends throughout the world. Like Zionism it depends on psychological weapons, and like Zionism it is highly successful.

catholicism is concerned with the physical and mental conduct of all men. It guides the lives of the 330,000,000 members of the Church through propaganda and persuation, both prime psychological forces. In addition to guiding certain aspects of the lives of its members it raises from them large financial sums with which it conducts psychological efforts to increase its membership and to influence the course of world events. Examples of recent major international efforts of the Church are the psychological (propagands) drive against Nasi Germany and the present

drive against Communist Russia.

The Church does not limit its psychological efforts to its own members but attempts to bring them to bear on all mankind. The radio, the motion picture, the press, public speakers, fraternal organizations, and educational organizations are all used as well as the religious structure itself. In the United States such magazines as America and Commonweal exert a considerable influence on non-members of the Church. The Catholic consorship of Hollywood's productions has had a tremendous influence on American thinking and morals. The effectiveness of such universities as Notre Dame and of such speakers as Father Shean and Father Coughlin needs no emphasis. Without further belaboring the significance of the psychological world power of Catholicism one can mention in passing its political power in Latin America, Spain, Portugal and Italy.

The third example mentioned above, Nazi Germany, is more complicated for it involves psychological effort coordinated with major political, economic and military moves.

Nasified and undertook to gain control over the continent of Europe through any and all means necessary. It is clear, however, that Garmany would have preferred to have achieved its ends through other means than force, had this been possible. The first step in the program was the reoccupation of the Ehineland. This was achieved largely through psychological action based on a world-wide propaganda campaign against the "unfairness" of the Versailles Treaty. This was coupled with international political-psychological action which made it appear that physical intervention by other powers would be costly and would not "prove anything".

The same propaganda techniques were used while Germany threw off the other "shackles" of the Versailles Treaty and prepared her armed forces for war, should it become necessary. Germany's next objective, Austria, was seized through the employment of psychological weapons including the establishment of a political propaganda party in Austria and the threat of force. The third objective, the Sudstenland was taken over through the employment of similar techniques including the propaganda claim well-known to western Europe of persecuted minorities. Czechoslovakia was next seized, again without resistance, through "psychological warfare".

The next objective, Foland, failed to fall to psychological weapons alone, and Germany then found herself employing armed force, However, through skillful political moves, Eussia, an eventual objective herself, was used as an Ally in this "blits" operation.

It is interesting to note that Italy, an Ally, was herself gradually taken over and occupied by dermany during the war years without the employment of force through the combination of psychological and political action. One-by-one without armed resistance Finland, Hungary, Denmark, Rumania, and Bulgaria were taken under German control through the employment of psychological, and economic action, so that before the end of the war eight continental powers fell without recourse to force. Four powers successfully resisted this pressure, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden but were not considered sufficiently important to warrant military action. Seven powers, Poland, France, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia, Greece and Norway resisted the impact of psychological warfare but were quickly everrun when military power was applied as well.

It will be observed from the above that more powers were overcome by psychological action than by military. Those that had to be attacked by force had been so weakened by the psychological war that they fell easily and quickly to derman arms.

Germany failed in her whole campaign because of her failure in Russia, and it is significant that Russia was the one power, the only one, armed to combat Germany's psychological warfare. Failing to reach effectively the Russian masses psychologically, Germany, seeking to achieve control by force, failed.

There are those who maintain that the non-Continental powers, the United States and Great Britain, could not have overcome Germany alone. Thus the conclusion can be drawn that the failure of the psychological attack against Russia brought about the downfall of the entire German effort.

There have been numerous studies of the psychological world efforts of the Nazi State, and this brief paper would not appear to be the place for another. Suffice to say that it employed the basic weapons of press, radio, cinema, speakers and control of news sources. It utilized political calls established within the body politic of foreign powers to carry on this psychological warfare. Principal themes included, the "evil Versailles Treaty", "Lebensraum", "persecuted minorities", "the new order", "invincible Germany", and "racialism". That these themes were, historically and scientifically unsound, illogical, and mutually contradictory did not affect their usefulness or their power, for the very nature of psychological attack depends not on reason but on repetition and emotion. A review of heir Manuel is rewarding if only for the statement that a lie, big enough, and repeated often enough, becomes a peoples creed.

Turning to the last of the examples mentioned above, Communist Russia, the psychological problem that broke Germany's back, we observe the originator of modern national psychological effort. Nazi Germany learned the psychological trade from Russia but failed to overcome the master with his own tools.

Communism came to power in Russia in 1917 through a very small minority party which literally talked and printed its way into the control of Russia. Having gained control this organization, still a minority today, immediately seized all organs of public opinion making impossible counter-psychological efforts. Its principal antagonists, the outside world and the Orthodox Church were cut off from the people, the first through cemsbrship, the second through police suppression. Because of the effective use of the CGPU, amounting to virtual thought-policing, any effective counter-psychological effort became virtually impossible within

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#### Russia.

Looking outward the Russian rulers undertook a long-range political and psychological attack on the other world powers. The usual psychological weapons; press, radio, cinema, etc. were employed together with political efforts of Communist organizations within the foreign states. By using the nationals of other countries to form these parties and to launch the psychological effort within the foreign body-politic a great economy of force was achieved. Most important, Russia recognized the power of its own weapons and took steps to counter any employment of them against her, thus dooming Germany's future attack to failure.

During the third decade of the 20th Century Russia watched Germany employ the psychological weapons she had forged against other European powers. Due to her greater scientific and cultural advancement Germany far out-classed Russia in competitive fields, but both powers were successful in defending themselves against the efforts of the other. When Germany fell Russia was prepared with the improved techniques which Germany had employed to move in on the European powers and has already taken over Poland, Russia, Bulgaria, Tugoslavia and Albania through varying combinations of psychological and military action. Austria, Hungary, Finland, France and Italy are now under heavy attack psychologically with success apparent in several of these countries.

Russia, having accepted the premise that her way of life cannot survive in a world in which strong democratic-capitalistic powers survive, is committed to the destruction of Great Britain and the United States. Like Germany she hepes to achieve her end without the employment of ferce and already has had some success in taking over small European powers through psychological action. Turkey, however, which has armed itself with some of the counter-psychological weapons, is proving a very difficult objective, as would the United States should it organize a national psychological effort.

In the world today Russia probably presents the most striking

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example of a nation applying coordinated and integrated psychological effort. It would seem that to achieve its apparent objectives Russia must overcome the power position of the United States. If this can be done psychologically through the themes of "the new world", "the common man", and "threat of force" Russia will not employ warfare. If she is forced to use war to achieve her ends she will attempt to so soften the United States' will to resist that the war can be quickly and easily won.

### APPENDIX "B"

# EXECUTIVE ORDER

### NATIONAL POLICY AGENCY

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces it is ordered as follows:

- 1. There is hereby established the National Policy Agency as part of the Executive office of the President.
- 2. The National Policy Agency is charged with the employment of psychological measures in achieving United States policy objectives throughout the world.
  - 3. The Director of the National Policy Agency is empowered to:
  - a. Formulate and carry out directly or through other government agencies, by means of press, radio, motion picture, and other facilities, programs designed to facilitate the development of an informed, intelligent and sympathetic understanding, throughout the world, or the policies, activities, and aims of the United States.
  - b. Coordinate the informational and related psychological activities of all Federal departments and agencies.
  - c. Obtain, study, and analyse information concerning the international effort of the United States and advise the agencies concerned with the dissemination of information as to the most appropriate and effective means of keeping the world adequately, accurately and sympathetically informed.
  - d. Establish policy and give guidance concerning preparation and issue of radio and motion picture programs sponsored by Federal Departments and agencies.
  - of government Departments and Agencies which bear psychologically on the attainment of United States policies, objectives and activities.

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- 4. The National Policy Agency will consist of:
  - a. A Director, to be appointed by the President.
- b. Three officers each assigned by the Departments of State, the Army, the Navy and the Air, one of whom will be named by the Secretary of Defense.
- c. Two officers each assigned by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, Justice, Labor and Treasury.
- d. Two officers assigned by the United States Atomic Energy Commission.
- e. Clerical personnel assigned by the Departments and the Commission referred to above in a ratio of two clerks per officer.
- 5. The Secretary of Defense will provide adequate office space, supplies and equipment for the National Policy Agency.
- 6. The National Policy Agency will draft legislation to be submitted to the next regular session of the Congress to provide authority and funds for the establishment and operation of the National Policy Agency as an independent Executive Agency.
- 7. This order shall be effective as of January 1, 1948 and shall be published in the Federal Register.

If an agency of the nature outlined above is required, the next problem is the determination of the level at which it should operate;

Department of State, National Security Council, or the President's Executive Office.

The Department of State has primary interest in international relations during peace. It, however, is not in a position to distate to other departments and agencies of the government, the supporting and complementary actions and statements required to further the Department of State's international moves. The executive structure provides for cooperation between Departments of equal rank but does not provide any means by which one Department can insure complete and rapid support from another. It would thus appear that a higher-level agency is required to insure prompt and effective coordination in this field. Psychological conflict neves with such rapidity that time is not always available for pretracted negotiation between agencies prior to action.

The National Security Council provides a higher-level agency. It is, however, associated primarily with the Armed Forces and the Department of State and would have similar difficulties to those mentioned above in coordinating other departments such as Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture. Although it would appear to be the appropriate agency to furnish top-level policy guidance to the National Policy Agency, it does not seem to have been designed as an operating and coordinating body.

The President's Executive Office thus provides the most satisfactory place for the immediate establishment of a National Policy Agency. At this level the Agency can, as spokesman for the President, act on top-level policy guidance furnished by the National Security Council and coordinate with all Federal Departments and Agencies, without becoming involved in inter-departmental conflicts or jealousies.

If it is granted that an agency outlined above should be established in the President's Executive Office, three procedures for its establishment can be considered:

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- a. Legislation and appropriation of funds after recommendations submitted by a civilian advisory committee to be appointed by the President.
- b. Legislation and appropriation of funds without consulting a civilian advisory body.
- e. Executive Order establishing an agency on an interim basis pending legislation authorising the agency and appropriating funds.

It is widely believed that the next two years will be critical in our conflict with the USSR. Therefore, any action to be taken towards implementing pelicy with psychological measures should be taken at once. The first proposal, involving an advisery body, authorizing legislation and apprepriation of funds, would require an estimated year and a half and might be too late. The second proposal, although skipping the advisery body, would probably require from 10 menths to a year as the minimum time to secure activation of a Mational Policy Agency. The only alternative then remains immediate action by Executive Order. A draft of such an order is attached as Appendix B.

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### APPENDIX "B"

### BKECUTIVE ORDER

### MATIONAL POLICY AGENCY

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes including Title I of the First War Powers Act, 1961 (55 Stat. 888), and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States it is hereby ordered as follows:

- 1. The Matiemal Policy Agency is established as part of the Executive office of the President.
- 2. The National Policy Agency is charged with the employment of psychological measures in achieving United States policy objectives throughout the world.
  - 5. The Director of the Estional Policy Agency is empowered to:
  - a. Formulate and earry out directly or through other government agencies, by means of press, radio, motion picture, and other facilities, programs designed to facilitate the development of an informed, intelligent and sympathetic understanding, throughout the world, or the policies, activities, and aims of the United States.
  - b. Coordinate the informational and related psychological activities of all Federal departments and agencies.
  - c. Obtain, study, and analyse information concerning the international effort of the United States and advise the agencies concerned with the dissemination of information as to the most appropriate and effective means of keeping the world adequately, accurately and sympathetically informed.
  - d. Retablish policy and give guidance concerning preparation and issue of radio and notion pisture programs sponsored by Federal departments and agencies.
  - e. Analyse and make recommendations conserning much activities of Federal departments and agencies which bear psychologically

on the attainment of United States policies, objectives and activities.

- 4. The National Policy Agency will consist of:
  - a. A Director, to be appointed by the President.
- b. Three officers each assigned by the Departments of State, the Army, the Navy and the Air, one of whom will be named by the Secretary of Defense.
- o. Two officers each assigned by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, Justice, Labor and Treasury.
- d. Two officers assigned by the United States Atomic Energy Commission.
- e. Clerical personnel assigned by the Departments and the Gozmission referred to above in a ratio of two clerks per officer.
- 5. The Secretary of Defense will provide adequate office space, supplies and equipment for the Matienal Policy Agency.
- 6. This order shall be effective as of January 1, 1948 and shall be published in the Federal Register.